1: Titiev
756

SG4 Araucanians SG4

[For participation of the machi (shaman) in organized ceremonials, see category 116, pp. 130-140.]

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio 595
Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was 587
wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a
deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who mar-
ried two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six
children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal 585
church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had 797
church weddings. All the rest were married by customary
Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in
houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil
ceremonies.[8] Probably because of opposition from the church
there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There [526]
is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none
of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, [756] ●
wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She
came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly
widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional serv-
ices are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have
the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practic-
ing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche 797
and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good 871
deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche
school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana,
is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is other-
wise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are
drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment [191]
of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a
little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

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[8] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the 621
basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are 797
conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a
visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol.
A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church
weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at
one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense
devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the [756]●
reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held
at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, [191]
and some of the others have no command of the language at
all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are 161
registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There
are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys 871
and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School
matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the
reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society
that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August,
1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with
regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement
of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well
as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the
group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from 621
Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, 161
eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors.
This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy.
A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates [582]
that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly
difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable
them to support wives and families. Also because of economic
pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation [167]
to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

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[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

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[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If 754 the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's 754
narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. 756
Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal·ku* and *machi*. They recognize

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[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death. [763]

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

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[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39-43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrariñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat 756 him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, con- 757 ferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty 756 people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of 755 the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul·truñ*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yapen* or *kefafan*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

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[10] Housse, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of *machituns* consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114–40; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 350–70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340–48; and Housse, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303–21.

756 755 tient, massages his body with fragrant leaves, sucks out, *fochañ*, whatever infection she discovers (or pretends to find), gives him a drink of herbs, and prepares to divine the exact cause and nature of his ailment and the cure for it. This is the great climax of the *machitun*. By way of preparation the shaman drinks copiously of ripened urine, *fai willeñ*, mixed with a solution of ginger and cinnamon, and gives some to her helpers. She then sings and beats the *kul·truñ* more and more vigorously, jumps over the patient from one side to the other, and works herself up to such a pitch that she is supposed to go out of her mind and become possessed, *küimin*. Thereupon, she begins to speak with the voice of the spirit that has possessed her but never does she reveal the name of her familiar.

At this stage another person engages her in conversation. He is an experienced and trustworthy man, who was previously selected for the task. He is called *duñumachife* ("interlocutor" or "interpreter"), and he must be a good speaker and endowed with a powerful memory. This man asks many leading questions of the entranced *machi*, cleverly urging her to tell as much as possible about the case, and remembering exactly what she says. After a time the *machi* stops talking and begins a violent dance. Very often she suddenly rushes out of the house to climb up and down her *rewe*.[12] She then dances around the pole, accompanied by a sturdy young man whose special function it is to catch her when she finally collapses and to hold her tightly until she returns to normal. *Machis* are said to select as special assistants men whose embrace will give them pleasure.

Members of the patient's household now provide the *machi* with water so that she may wash and restore herself. When she is ready, the *duñumachife* relates verbatim all that was said while she was possessed. The *machi* pays careful heed, explains the meaning of her remarks, tells what she has learned from the spirit's statements, and prescribes such remedies and treatment as she considers necessary. This concludes the *ma-*

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[12] If a *machi* cures at home she uses her own *rewe*, but if she works at the patient's house, she generally orders a duplicate post to be erected in his yard.

chitun, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon 756
after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same dele- 755
gation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which
may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is [465]
made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampives*, who work with herbs; *vileus*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[13]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those 756
who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally 838
held by men, and it is practically certain that they were ab-
normal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them [143]
may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[14] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[15] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

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[13] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[14] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234-36. Also, see Moesbach, 1930, pp. 330-49.

[15] Cf. Housse, 1939, p. 113.

●756 838 that they are homosexuals. For all that, their services are much in demand, and many natives regard them as more efficient than are women. Nevertheless, the great majority of contemporary *machis* are women who seem to be sexually normal.[16] They marry, bear children, care for their households, and follow the usual feminine occupations, except when engaged in professional activities. A suggestion of homosexuality is revealed in their relations with novices and assistants, and whispers of adultery during *machituns* are not uncommon, but the older pattern of marked sexual abnormality no longer prevails.

756 The person who becomes a *machi* must have a strong will and character, partly because of the danger implied in the close conceptual link of witch and shaman, and partly because of the long and arduous training program. Many young women deliberately avoid all *machis*, and so difficult has it become to secure recruits that established practitioners may resort to subtle threats in order to get newcomers to join their ranks. If they meet a likely girl who is the descendant of a former *machi*, they may tell her that she is going to sicken and die unless she takes up the profession. More commonly, especially if a young, single woman becomes a patient, a *machi* may tell her that she cannot recover unless she agrees to serve as an apprentice after her cure. Coercion is not necessarily employed in all cases. Some women voluntarily apply for training, presumably because of the high fees they may earn. Another class of recruits includes people who have had narrow escapes from death by lightning. There is a belief that sometimes a frightened woman faints during a severe thunderstorm and finds on recovery that she has acquired the knowledge and power to be a *machi*.[17] If she decides to accept the call, she is supposed to be superior to an ordinary curer.

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[16] Compare the independently made summary of the transition from male to female *machis* in Cooper, 1946, p. 750.

[17] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 750): "A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her."

TRAINING A NEW MACHI

When, in one way or another, a young woman decides to 756 ● become a *machi*, she offers her services to an experienced and well-known practitioner. Since every highly regarded *machi* has need for one or two assistants, arrangements are usually readily made. The novice goes to live with her tutor for a period of a year or more, during which they work and sleep together. Whether or not they actually enjoy homosexual relations is uncertain. From her tutor the acolyte learns how to diagnose ailments, how to identify medicinal plants, what preparations to make in curing various diseases, how to play the *kul·truñ* and shake gourd rattles, how to communicate with spirits by singing, praying, and dancing, and finally, how to become possessed and to speak with the voice of a spirit. As she acquires these accomplishments the neophyte assists her tutor at *machituns* and *ñillatuns*, and when she has mastered all the required lore, she prepares to give a public demonstration of her skill. This professional debut is known as *machiluwn*, and at its completion the novice emerges as a full-fledged *machi*, ready to practice in her own right.

The *machiluwn* centers about the dedication of a new *rewe*. Attention has already been called to the fact that the *rewe* is the visible sign of a practicing *machi*. It is a stout post or tree trunk, with several steps cut into one side, and it culminates at the top in a small, flat platform. Every active *machi* has a *rewe* planted in the ground before her house. It is set at an angle, and cinnamon and other branches are usually affixed to the upper end (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). Occasionally, a *rewe* has the semblance of a face carved above the last step (Pl. X, Fig. 1). At her death, a *machi*'s *rewe* is brought to the cemetery and placed at the foot of her grave (Pl. X, Fig. 1). When a novice is ready to commence her own career, her male relatives prepare a *rewe* for her, and her tutor sets a date and invites guests to observe the ceremony accompanying its erection.

To some extent the procedure of a *machiluwn* follows the

● 756 pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil [778] with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *cherufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul·truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

756 796 Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

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[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul·truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kuretun* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi's* first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* 756
sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. 796
Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night.
Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb [782]
is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[22] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[23]

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[22] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi's* house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[23] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturing of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[14] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Cholchol in conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. [541] On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[15] [756]

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[14] There is a possibility that *loñkos* formerly selected team captains.

[15] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 332-34.

796 up the ceremony altogether. There is no consensus, either, with respect to the appropriate time for these events, although a slight preference is noticed for dates in the fall when the moon is full.

●756 796 Even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi* there was no agreement among early writers: "Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *ñillatun* rite. And Robles Rodriguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *ñillatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being."[19] Whatever may have been the situation in other days or other parts of Chile, it may be categorically stated that *machis* invariably play key parts in the *ñillatun* observances now held in the vicinity of Cholchol.

796 A further difficulty in treating of the *ñillatun* stems from the lack of standardization. Details of performance vary widely, depending on the time and place of the ceremony, the wishes and instructions of the *machi* in charge, and whether the main objective is to give thanks or plead for help. To illustrate some of the differences and to bring out the complexity of the rituals, accounts will be given of two celebrations which I had the opportunity of observing.[20]

THE ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, the Reverend Harry Donaldson and I rode horseback from Cholchol to watch a *ñillatun* ceremony at Coigue. We had been invited by Ramón Chihuaicura, who conducts the mission school in Coigue, and the occasion was rather special as a new field was to be dedicated. After resting and taking yerba maté with our host, we proceeded to the schoolroom in which there was a large, white wooden cross, inscribed in Spanish on the crossarm with a verse from Matthew 11:28. The lettering was in green, and just be-

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[19] Cooper, 1946, p. 752.

[20] Contrast the general summary of events in Cooper (1946, p. 743) with the two descriptions that follow.

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PLATE VII

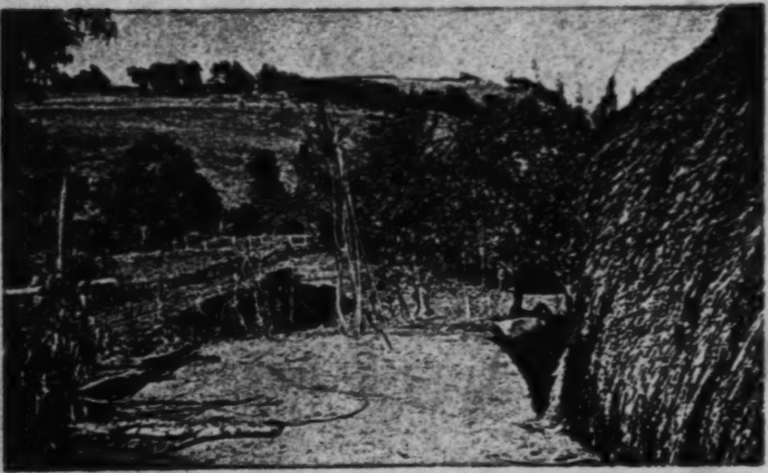


Fig. 1. The home of the *machi* at Cautinche. Her nonprofessional status is indicated by the absence of a *rewe*. Only the poles in the middle ground reveal her calling.

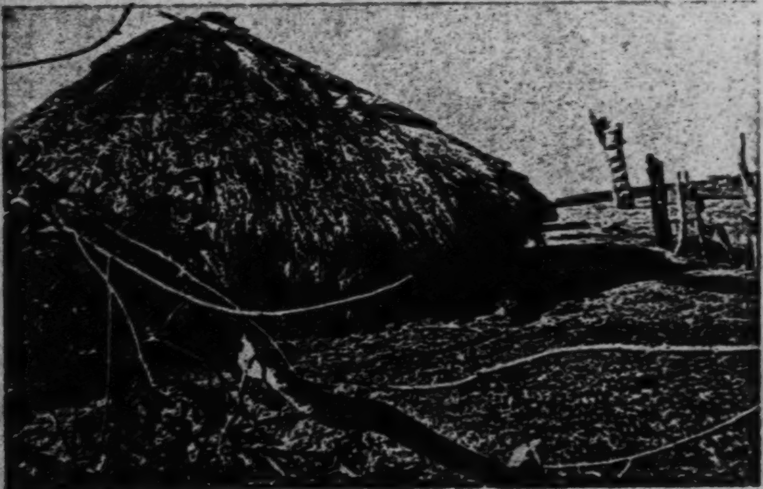
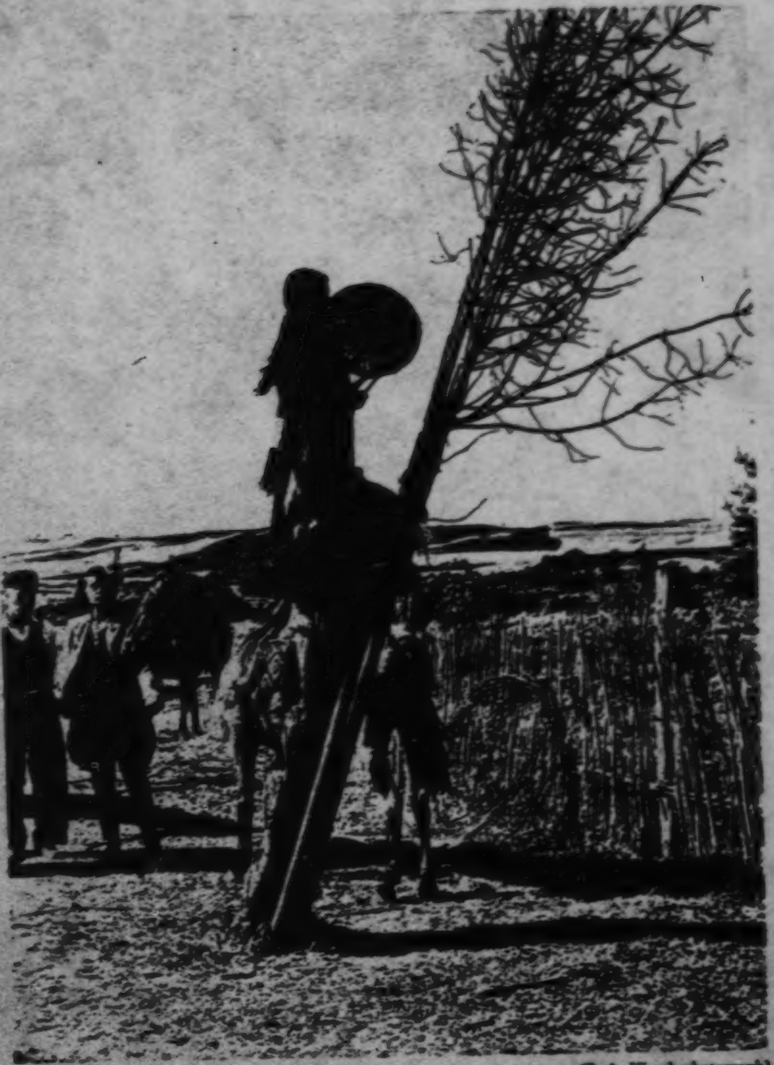


Fig. 2. The home of a Carrarriñe *machi*. The *rewe*, surmounted by twigs of sacred trees, is set at an angle before the *ruka*.

[end plate 7]

PLATE VIII



(Rudy Hirsch photograph)

A *machi* climbing her *rewe*. The *machi* holds a *kul·truñ* and drumstick. Her *kul·truñ* is decorated with traditional markings.

[end plate 8]

PLATE IX

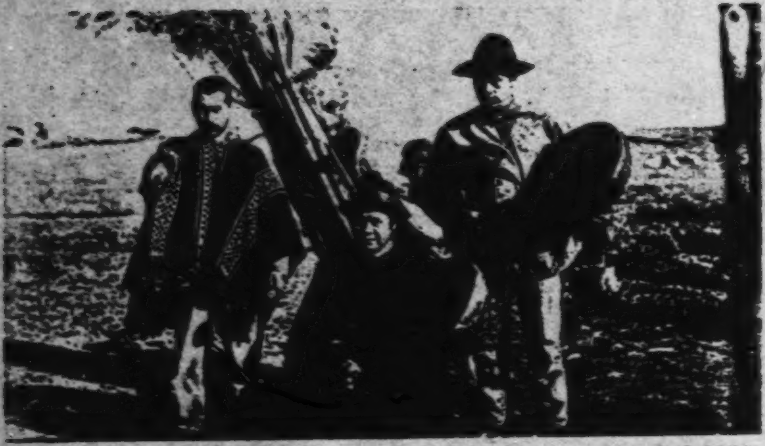


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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collío identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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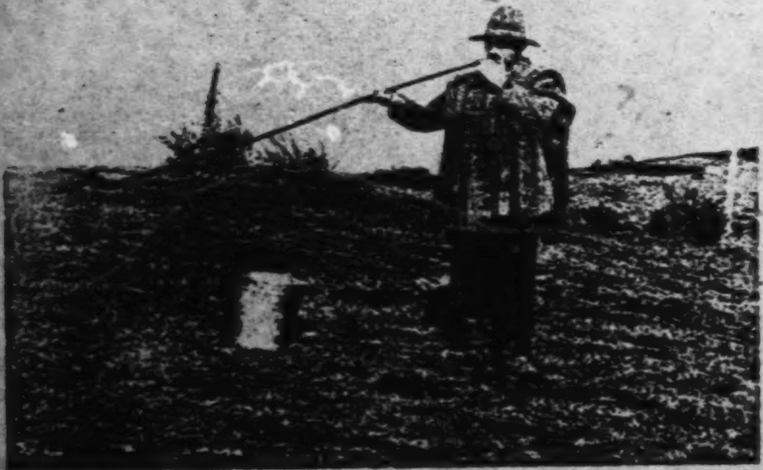

FIG. 2. Juan Levin ("Selmita") Paineo playing a *llollkin* of his own make at Carrarriñe. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

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PLATE X

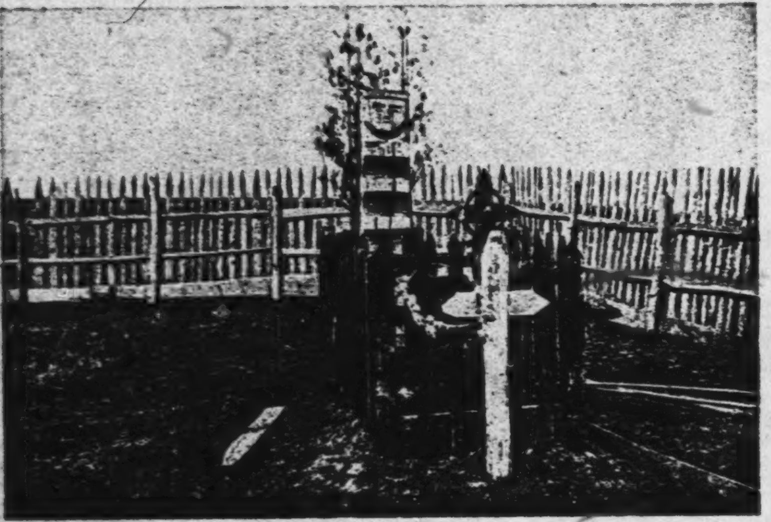

FIG. 1. A *machi's* grave in the Malalche cemetery.

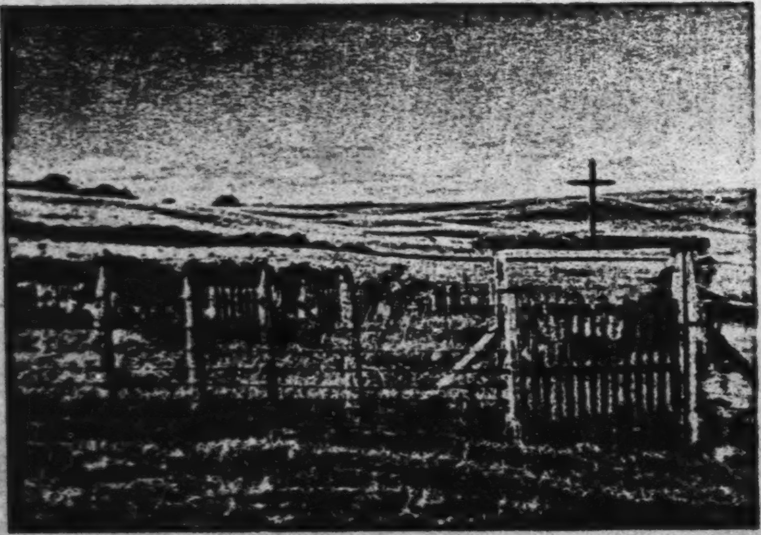

FIG. 2. The original cemetery at Cautinche. Although no Christian was ever buried here, the entrance is marked with a cross.

[end plate 10]

533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is üllkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naîve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

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During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprisés a varying

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[4] Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5] For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6] The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

4: Latcham
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SG4 Araucanians SG4

[For role of the machi (shaman) in divining witchcraft, see category 116, pp. 365-368.]

776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Ngunemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Ngunemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same
774 time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way
776 absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this
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791 754 *Magic and Witchcraft.*—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of theurgists; the *huecuvuye* or sorcerer, the *dunguve* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes.

The sorcerers were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observations took place were performed by them. They wore woman's dress and their hair long and uncombed; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *huecuvus* (hence their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dunguves* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

791 After the *huecuvuyes* come the diviners or *dunguves*, who are sometimes the acolytes or apprentices of the former, though not generally so.

The *dunguves* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or mislaid object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machis* or exorcists. Ventriloquism is used by *huecuvuyes*, *dunguves* and *machis* alike. The *dunguves* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

756 By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist.

756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had resource to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *quecupu* or lancet ; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *troquitue*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutra*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *ihue*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *troncu*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gatuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *ralicultrun*, or drum, inside of which are carried small white stones, *lican*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *llaucanyi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *puvilcas*, or shrill reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous thus to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

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753 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a 756 ●
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuvu*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 681
victim was tied to one of them, which was stouter than the others, his hands 756
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Paderasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though [838]
not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *hueye*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *punus*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitun* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, 681
religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he 682
can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone [562]
interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ;* the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu.* 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *huecuvuyes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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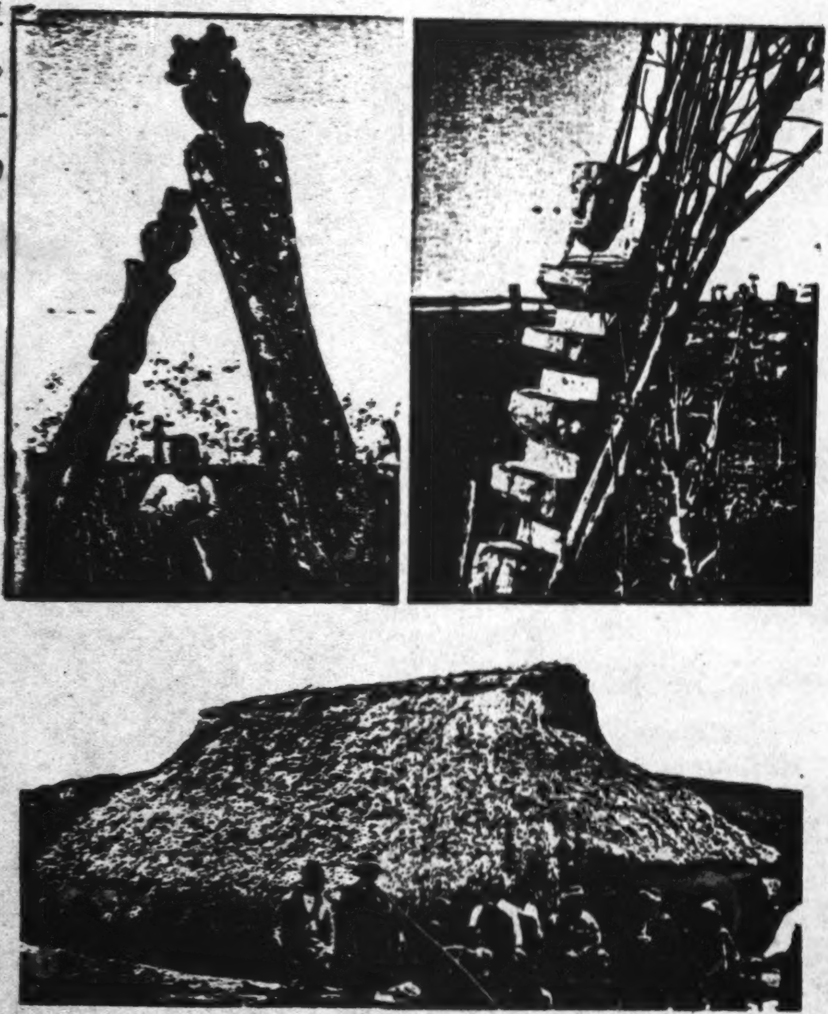

PLATE 158.—Araucanian graves, rewe, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rewe, or machi's ladder. *Bottom: Mapuche* dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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PLATE 156.—Araucanian Indians. *Top (left): Mapuche* female shaman. *Top (right): Mapuche* woman weaving. (Courtesy Grace Line.) Bottom: *Mapuche* girl. (After Looser, 1927, opp. p. 3.)

[p. 734 D]

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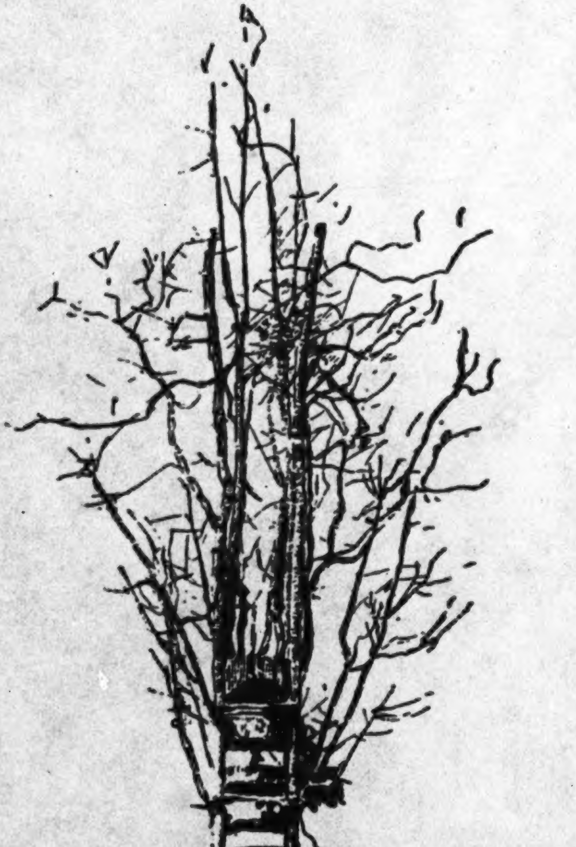

Figure 83.—A *Mapuche* rewe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

● 756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
[778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos: Félix José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

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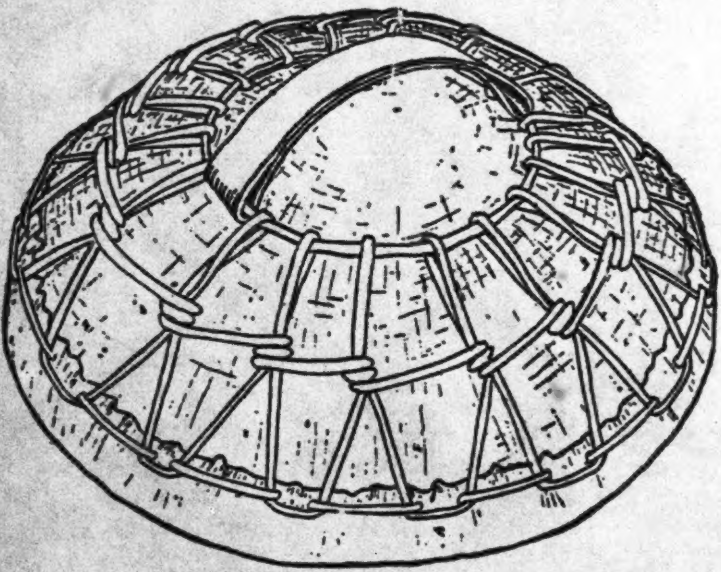

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

●756 claimed to derive her power directly from ŋᵉnéchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top*, *right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ŋillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ŋillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

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The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matias family did so; its name was Calfín, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfín men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, cũga, cunga; also elpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kunpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly
●756 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaŋkünagpai (what falls from above); Pinsarayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinsatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Loŋkon after my father who had been named Loŋkon after his grandfather whose name was Loŋkofianco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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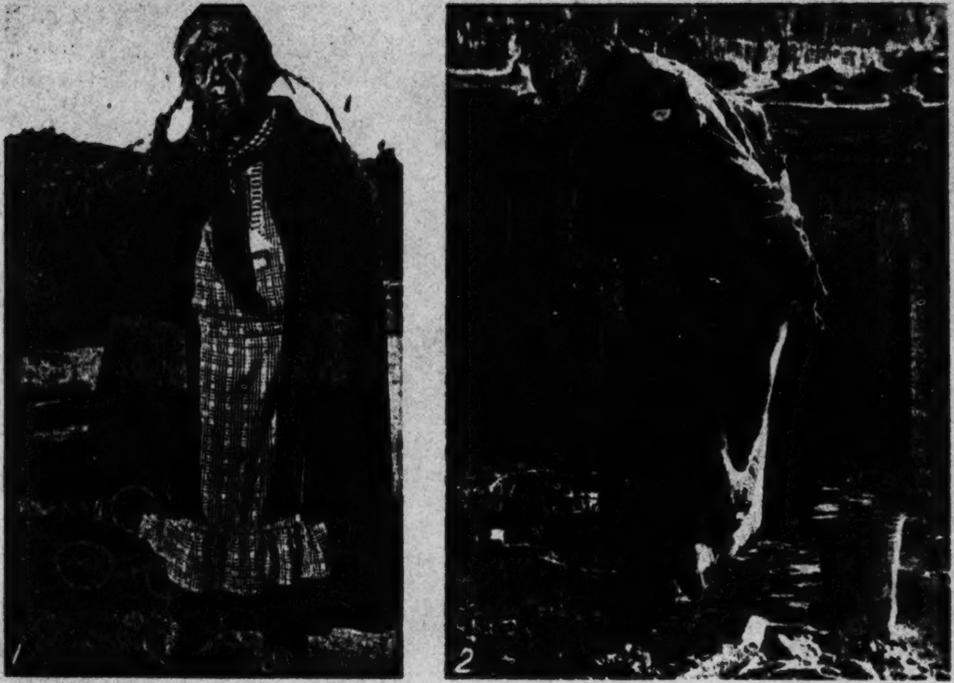

Older women: 1, A machi (Alepúe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coñaripe).

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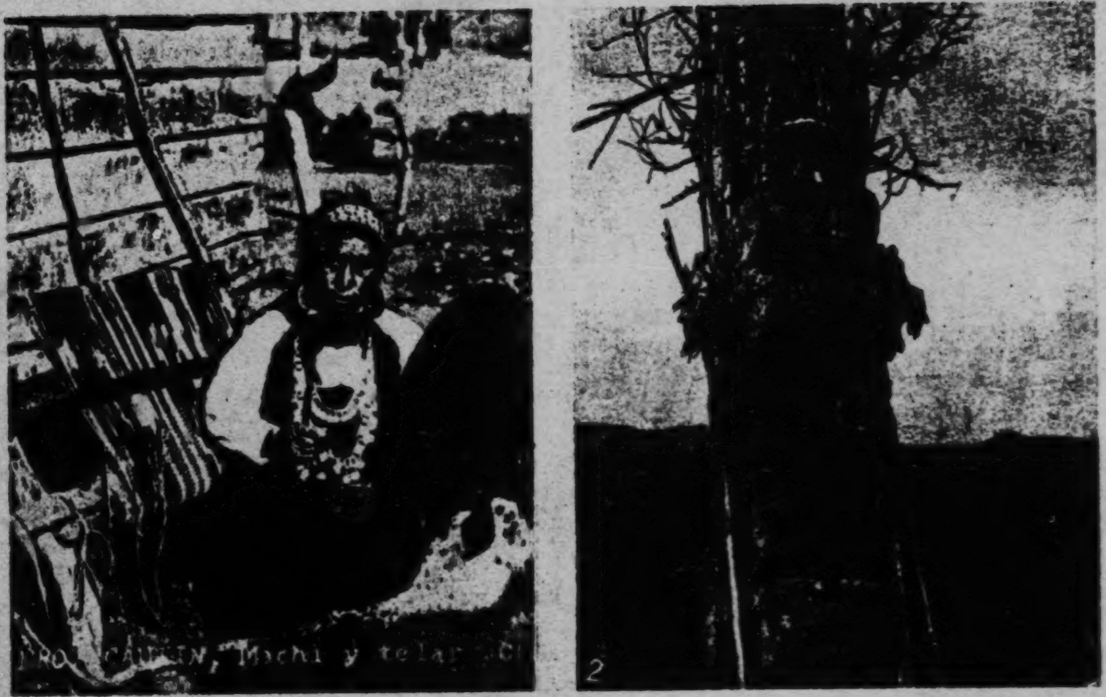

1, The machi, Province of Cautín, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

[p. 92(J)]

751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indigenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

●756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*)
who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an
air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly differ-
ent in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there
were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of
[201] the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during
the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when
talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had
gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and
"no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him.
If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or
her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean
governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to
watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

> In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

human beings. However, when walking, they did not touch the ground, but flew like birds. They said that they were sent by chau to say to me, "Carry out the ancient rites and cause ŋillatun to be convoked; he who forgets me shall be unhappy on earth and will not enter into my kingdom." Then they said to me, "You will have to suffer a mental disturbance for four days, so that you can learn to know the blessed land of heaven." After this I saw four old men who wore rainbow-colored clothes. They clothed me in the same colors and adorned me with leaves of *canelo*. Then they led me to the four cardinal points of the earth, that is to the east, the north, the west, and the south. In the south I saw an old woman sitting down. She asked me with astonishment what I was doing on their earth. Those who accompanied me answered that chau had chosen me to adore him, that I would give continuity to the ancient rites. Then the four men and I returned by the way of the four cardinal points. My food was copihue flowers. The men selected for me the name of Ayón-kahuell, and as a banner, the flag of Chile. They told me to always use the banner when celebrating the rite. They told me that I must love my neighbor and cure him of his illness; and cure him, also, of evil that befalls him, because human beings are full of curable afflictions, which are the work of the devil, something which chau does not wish to be so. "For these cures," they said, "you must take the herbs of the land and give these to men to drink; chau has blessed these herbs; do not have any doubt in their efficacy." They then took leave of me, and I returned to my earth where I woke up.

Individuals sometime resent these compulsive dreams. "They may be incapacitated for two or three or more days after such a dream." The woman machi in Alepúe was said to have been sick two years. A 21-year-old man in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area) had had such a dream shortly before I arrived. "He does not want to be a machi," schoolchildren said. The mother of one of the schoolchildren volunteered, "But the spirit that told him to be one haunts and haunts him: sometimes the spirit throws him down and the young man is like dead. The spirit really makes him suffer. A few times the man has been sick near death. I hear he is now taking instructions from a machi." The interpreter had heard that the instructing machi had been at the man's home for some celebration and that shortly after that the man's brother had died; that it was now being said that the machi had caused his death. "That man's family," she added, "has become poor. Everything they own is being gradually converted into money. The machi insists in being paid in money for her instructions; recently they sold their cattle to do so."

Once a person has decided to be a machi he presents himself as a candidate to a practicing machi, usually an older one with much experience. Parents who notice unusual intelligence in one of their children may advise and urge it to become a machi, and finally place it with a machi to be instructed and trained.

Generally an adult candidiate must spend two to three years with the machi, learning from him shamanistic skills, knowledge of the curative properties of plants, and other health restorative measures. Three nights preceding the inception of these formal instructions, the machi and candidate meet in secret sessions; this is the period of initiation. At dawn after the third night the machi gives the candidate his name and then all relatives of the candidate are invited to the initiation ceremony in conjunction with which a festive meal is served. Not all relatives join in the feast, however, because always it happens that one of those who attends or assists must die; this keeps some away. The candidate's father and brothers help to supply food and drink, including mudai. It is during this initiation ceremony that the rewe (pl. 30, *2*) is used. No rewe was seen in the field; some old informants had not seen one in their lifetime. One in the Casa de Araucanía in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago consists of five steps and a top platform. At the end of the years of instructions, "the new machi is given to the people." The most recently trained one in Panguipulli area had been presented to the people in 1936; she was then in her early twenties and had studied under a machi since her early childhood. "They slaughtered an animal and gave a feast. Over the new machi they raised a bow festooned with flowers and all around her were baskets of flowers."

A list of shamanistic skills or powers (püllə) was written down by an old Panguipulli man. He explained the first on his list, that is, licure üiyəm foro, to mean inflamed bone. "When using it," he continued, "the machi begs to find the location of sickness in a bone or tooth, or who knows what," and then added rather impatiently that the machi speaks to his invisible power in each püllə to get information regarding the sickness which he is curing, and "this is enough about the püllə of the machi; let us go on to something else!" He pushed his list toward the writer and sat by, mute. Additional names he had written down, the meanings of which he was not willing to give, were neculpillan, yiuallmawida, licure malloldo, picumdo llaŋcacuralŋe, kulilpillañ, pillañdomo, pillañ wentru and kallfüpəllomeñ, antüwapinda, ñuikonmei üllcha, ñuikonmei weche, ñümaillawen. (The last 10 are also found in Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, pp. 9, 64, 75, 98, 159, 181.)

It is believed that each machi can obtain or develop new skills from some invisible source in addition to those learned during the years of instructions. It is known that skills are enhanced by exchange of information between machi. "My mother-in-law told me that years ago 10 machi women met every year at a stream near Queule to exchange knowledge each had regarding herbs. Each beat her kultruŋ;

one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (traue) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal. 756

> Always in April the machi here (Coñaripe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a traue. My father will not allow us (adults) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 12 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and chest of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two canelo trees. These trees were decoratd with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off the bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of bare skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yəlweiu. The machi stayed under this nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultruŋ and shook the wada, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihue are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like pelts and saplings, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the pelts be sold. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepúe area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepúe itself, a 70-year-old woman. In Panguipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Coñaripe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is 755

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, 583 she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home.

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful 832 that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on 278 volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will 756 ● cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pellpell were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wadawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenaŋwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wañólkintuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257).

754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it
756 is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 115-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of an occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (llelleqkeñ); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

787 and consequently hired a machi to conjure. The machi smoked, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—
● 756 she got the answer. She said the man still lived. The machi had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any sign of the machi's witchcraft, and he answered, 'Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a llelleqkeñ sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so tame. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer.' "

OMENS

787 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 109, 158), as do those that forebode famine. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the colihüe blossom—normally only a few blossom each year—the people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands exceedingly thin. Ten years ago the colihüe all blossomed and that year we suffered plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?' " A non-Araucanian listener-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the colihüe seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of these seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in goodly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Panguipulli it is a bad omen if a puma comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The same holds true," he added, "if parrots land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Panguipulli and Alepúe areas a person who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chukau sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

593 [861] beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor [554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 851 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child [844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a 756 844 [178] *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as
613 observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*.
794 Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe,* and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun,* in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe,* but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[755] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual
Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation
is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of
shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a
discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and
the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the
postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection
from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning
poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits [775]
of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and [776]
goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated
to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these.
Ñillatun is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial [778]
field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this
sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* [628]
annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host
unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible*
members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The
leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe,* [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, [613]
and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically
separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status
and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or
closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant
is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature
of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play
on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the
degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of
statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and
which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these
variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations
which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike.
Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the
dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a
range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche
morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the
uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once
captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having
been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil
is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually
recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something
of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never
die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil,
being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies.
Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, 796
in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of
overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some
areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple
ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites
(ñekurewen) connected with their own "society."

death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several
forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then
made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of
evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a
malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the
members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises
them about the performance of certain magical acts which will
protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the 825
propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a
troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness,
called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to
him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s)
describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good
fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream
experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is
interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in
averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to
smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he
has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for
advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful,
and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if
the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has
been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial
acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen*
in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal
may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem
to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery
and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional
individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche
do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may
be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups:
animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the
power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume
the form of a being representative of any of the three groups,
and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or
forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
775 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a
general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory
notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
•[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of
witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill
them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with
[613] the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to
this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche
feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed,
while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[778] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

754 775 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle, usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some [756] shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed by the Mapuche themselves. [179] Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 775 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

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[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they 775
become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily
mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they 787
do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good 753
omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought
that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is
nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been
treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more
care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in
dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a [769]
dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers
personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the [756]
counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are
actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since
the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works
slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen,
or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness
takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his
evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones
and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only [755]
available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths 773
having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from [128]
this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental
nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this
relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good,
evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than
culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren
Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all
important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all
Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication
of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their
supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche
"race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical [182]
manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764
Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756]
removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763]
the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

several reservations which form traditional segments of the 796
ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, 621
one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is 796
not common, even though it might even be understood before- 756.
hand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about 796
details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed
were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason [821]
seems to have been that the connection between fertility
associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that [776]
the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial
796 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
793 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation
756 of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951:
756 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis
796 about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of
[613] the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance,
but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time
when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> *Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.*
>
> . . . .
>
> *Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias* (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in
which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
769

114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel
that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely
[178] that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its
performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 náriamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
• [756] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger
[178] ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He
never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
757 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
756 *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because
[178]

she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which 796
entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In 793
all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* 756.
are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* [622]
activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the 796
ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a 756
priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi*
were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I [622]
have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I
should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw
in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the [198]
shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the
audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed,
apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was
supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which 796
startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her 756
helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and 789
finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it 536
was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl.
But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished
left many of the spectators gaping with surprise. It was
explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil
spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her
possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by
any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual
priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in 796
ñillatun ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge 793
and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* 756
throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in 182
fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately
ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they
act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as
priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest
deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and
is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil
spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its
ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can
182 drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *own* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
465 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he
431 redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich payment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold
465 *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral
community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the
absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
622 mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
613 Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
756 *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there
are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
622 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
769 responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally
supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

793 794

role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) 622
his political status. 769

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married 794
women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the 562
occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention 613
that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host 621
group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. 756
Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that 796
their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links 562
with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may 613
have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to 621
special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from pre-
liminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in [796]
which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must [626]
participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If [754]
they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *huìku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

128 754 •756 THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

756 It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171] The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* [534] (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal [778] skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which 756
she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain [534]
power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars [778]
(*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and 756
communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who 787
tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of
trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she [198]
says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a
set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and 756
passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to [789]
place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot
over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke [755]
over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a [823]
tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession 755
occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious 756
illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic
incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic
effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance.
Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected
parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous
darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also
important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most
cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly
magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear
to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing
exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their
familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during
trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit
may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and
the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon
the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final
consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the
patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of 756
those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, [178]
although they had married comparatively late in life. It was [462]
immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

756 nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater [593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most [554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies: only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. [787] The most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an [276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *flekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling supernatural events and forces (e.g. as indicated by their dreams and, perhaps, visions). They also take any promising young girl into their house for training, for which they are paid well. But girls who have recovered from serious illness under the *machi*'s care are considered prime material as trainees, since during their sickness they have already dealt successfully with supernatural agents—a demonstration of their courageousness and sensitivity. It is said that a *machi* will sometimes coerce a young girl whom she has cured into becoming a trainee. *Machi* acknowledge that this sometimes happens, saying that they do this primarily to keep their profession alive for the good of the people, and that they select the most suitable girls to this end. 756

One *machi*, who was a particular friend of mine, was training one of her three daughters along with two other girls, both distantly related to her through the distaff side of her family. The story of her own calling into the profession follows: 756 159

When I was a young girl I was very sick and almost died. I had large boils all over my body [showing arms and legs] and in my hair. My family was very poor. My mother was a machi, but she had little success and did not control powerful spirits. Because of this she was unable to cure me. I recovered through my own power and from what I had learned from my mother. I did not have her knowledge, but I had more power.

One day I was tending the sheep when I saw a pure-white lamb walk out of the bushes toward me. The lamb followed me all over. Suddenly, I saw a large kultrun [drum] over the bushes. It was covered with a pure-white lamb skin and there was a blue and white drumstick with bells attached to it. I decided that this vision was presented to me so that I would become a machi. I talked about this with my mother, but she did not know what to do. She felt that her powers were failing and that she could not instruct me properly. My mother later became a great machi, but now she is too old to practice anymore.

I was sick with boils again, but this time I was able to do my work. I decided to go and get cured by a famous machi in Maquegua, near my natal reservation [a woman who was her mother's mother's maternal aunt]. Because my father was very poor, his brothers and sisters contributed to the cost of my cure and training. The machi who taught me asked for 600

756 *pesos* [a very large sum of money twenty years ago], *a new*
159 *house with room enough for me to sleep alone, and some sheep. I stayed with her for several years and learned a good deal. I was a good pupil, but she did not teach me everything she knew. After about five years I was ready. I was almost as good as my teacher, because I had special power that she did not have. I called on my own powerful pillan.* [Asked about this in detail, she said the following.] *My mother told me that the women in our family numbered machi among them, and that it was their spirits who possessed me and made me wise.*

Now I am successful and make a lot of money. It is not easy to be a machi. People think it is easy, and they say that the machi is rich and fat and does not have to work. But my husband works as hard as any man. I work harder than other women. When I am possessed by a spirit, I am close to death. It is dangerous and I do not like to do it. Young machi, as I did myself, like to have the spirits enter them because it is exciting, but I am getting older now and more careful. My house burned down last year, and even the orchard was damaged. I know the evil spirit responsible for this. Long ago I cured a man, but he would not pay me what I asked, and then he died. Now his spirit has been captured by a kalku and sent to fight me.

The story of how a male *machi* began is also of interest:

I was born blind, and they call me waillepen. My mother died because of me. I was raised by my father's sister who lived with us. My father died when I was small, and all my brothers and sisters died. My father's sister married a poor man who came to live in my father's house. He was a bad man. People called him a kalku, but he did not have any power. He was just mean. The people chased him away, though, and we all went with him. We lived in Boroa until I was a young man. There my stepfather had an uncle who was a machi and who talked often with me. I learned a lot from him, but I had no power. I never dreamed.

I used to walk a good deal, and one day I kept on walking. I finally walked as far as Argentina and all through Chile as far as Puerto Montt. I have crossed the Andes many times. I heard many things in the houses where I lodged. I worked for people making spoons, baskets, and all sorts of things. I can weave better than a woman, but they have to show me where the colors are.

One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for 756
several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have 159
this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku 787
[father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to
explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream,
and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never
slept with her. She taught me many things.

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again,
and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I
was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I
left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what
they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although
I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at
night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever
before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I
stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a 756
widow with children—these. Now I have several children by 159
my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe
I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her
husband live with me and take care of things.

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. 756
I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near 755
where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to 159
let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very
crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] [752]
could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a
month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no
patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona.
Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid 756
to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently 159
have very good dreams. 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few
times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his
house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and [762]
then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which [757]
often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, 75
and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a
Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a
machi.

756 845 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery— [554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and [177] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There 755
are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge 756
about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance.

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette 755
as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 756
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> *Many years ago I was very sick. They called a* machi *to hold a* machitun. *She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the* machi *about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a* machitun *should be held.*
>
> *The* machi *gave orders to the* thungulmachin *to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the* wekufe. *All the while they drank a lot of* chicha *to make the cure effective. The* machi *drank and smoked her pipe.*
>
> *I was very sick that night. The next day the* thungulmachin *returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The* machi *rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the* machi *away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church* [Catholic] *who came the next day to see me. That night,* [787]
> *before he came, I saw an* anchimallen. *It was standing in a*

755 *corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.*
• 756 *I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored*
159 *chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to*
787 *the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two*
feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Ñenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

755 thungulmachin. *She told my father that only the* kalku *could*
•756 *reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She*
159 *said that she could do nothing, but that my father should*
call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. *Two days later my sister died.*

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin*.

My father was a thungulmachin, *a* machi's *helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a* machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a
dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] *taken by a* kalku, *and that he might become an* anchimallen,
since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun *naming ceremony*].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. *The people were happy he had not been taken by a* kalku. *They paid my father well.*

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not
perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their 751
doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is
the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly
confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to
their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their
bosom.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any 756
community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain 182
that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they 554
frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard
times—when food is in short supply or when there have been
several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain
that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many
wekufe lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under
these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the
company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to
have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a
machi to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey.
This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in
a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near
famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and
almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the
nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three
days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The [769]
people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at [796]
any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not
be effective.

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their 756
wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods 556
received in payment for services rendered. This usually means
that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have
many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation
between a *machi's* wealth, however, and the land she or her
husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the
Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern,
and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral
pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which
is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman
might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of

756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are
active and powerful persons in the moral community, important
human agents who deal with the supernatural through their
pillan for the good of individuals and the community at large.
[462] The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves
with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patri-
[769] potestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the
struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compen-
sation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both
the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche
world.

121 *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
756 correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shaman-
ism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
462 gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper,
[114] Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the
recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi*
who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why
almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an
historical answer, since the present condition is usually described
in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift
from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken
place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely
with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the
literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My
interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the
latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thorough-
going patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives
from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorpor-
462 ated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is
756 there any information which indicates either the cause or the
magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift
from male to female shamanism, although this shift is con-
sidered. Cooper has this to say:

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> *In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly trans-* 178
> *vestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the* 462
> *second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily* 756
> *women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed* [838]
> *almost exclusively by women* (1946:750). [839]

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

> *Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is* [838]
> *practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect*
> *to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true her-* [839]
> *maphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common* (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used, inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

114 178 462 756 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

17 756 462 [955] According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power,

or, phrased differently, because certain females have special 756
qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential
power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar
spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all 756
cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally 613
related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual
succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these
spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power
were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter,
these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply
do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or,
given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of
considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche
morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry 756
outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to 591
remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to 58
the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live
uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray
from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life
and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example,
no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her
to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories
about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it
seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for
themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting
one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group
(although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the
machi's part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom
of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding
the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and resi- 756
dence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional 554
structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* 562
are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they 182
reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense,
it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits
adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association
between *femininity* and occult power, a connection between

756 554 562 182 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 769 562 182 613 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi's* familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 613 182 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she *is* unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the *Forces of Evil*

114 794 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity 114
about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is 754
certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapucheland, and it is of great daily concern to the people.

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its *kalku*. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more *kalku* than *machi*.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under 754
certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some *kalku* are more powerful than others. These are the *kalku* of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people connive for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional *kalku*. These almost defy identification by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It [756]
is generally agreed, however, that powerful *kalku* are women and that among these are some *machi* who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional *machi's* pole outside their house.

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are *kalku*, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, *kalku* take these recruits to their *reñi*, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a *machi*, the feeling of

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accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

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Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored by the community so that the status quo could be maintained. This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

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Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

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The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *renu*, her haunt,

683 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of
them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication
being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to
578 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in
most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married
men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in
hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
-756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Mé-
traux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his
silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of
witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were
secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated
"into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which in-
cluded animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of
unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be
called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a
[772] life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of
the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's
thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to comple-
ment that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of
good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this
structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the
dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *rehu*, where they conduct their
evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to
their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion
demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature
of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches'
Sabbaths," which I think is a *fair figure* of speech, even though
[184] it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition
of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reñu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reñu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *reñu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships. 754 [184]

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group 756 [778]

756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. [755] Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

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182 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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754 [128] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. [756] Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to 754
accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather 578
than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, 593
difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are
taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of
the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They [521]
seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is
said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip,
and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in
such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own
wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears,
while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given
their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male
solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to [756] •
obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to
perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes
self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher 754
incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than 613
within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I 621
believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity,
a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in
which common interests have been extolled—and that it is
characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief.
These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through
the extension of generational kin terms and through the
voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features
speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation
of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community
membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members
of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more
often accused of being witches themselves than is the case
within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft
arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five
reservations where specific charges had been made) these were
resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or
attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did
not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts [431] between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* [782] ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

121 772 779 114 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 772 114 754 756 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but *not all good is sacred.* Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 772 812 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. 772
Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are 562
considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, [754]
and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold,
death-ridden side of the conceptual universe. 829

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values 772
centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" 756
shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche.
Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in 562
women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, [838]
crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are [732]
nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part
of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say
that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For
the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary
forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with
right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche
thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the
thungulmachin whose occult powers are not wholly masculine.
Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. 793
The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest
(*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans some- 772
times complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The 756
ñillatufe has a quite different relationship to the supernatural 829
than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied
to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal
descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, [613]
therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader
of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group
which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*,
caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing
heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the
ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of 772
these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other 622
elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to 554
their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and,
even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions.
They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

178 183 78 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

421 178 183 78 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society. But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 184 178 793 796 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the [885] machi. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-771 184 178 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown. Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-